1: Jenness--183-184 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 294

"Sewing as well as cooking is subject to the same general prohibitions. Thus sealskin may not be sewn at the fishing creeks while the salmon are running. I wanted a woman to sew up the ends of a sealskin dog-pack to make it waterproof. She was uncertain whether it was right to do it while the salmon were still migrating up the creek near which the natives were encamped, and on [184] asking an old man, was emphatically told that it was prohibited. Even at our station, four miles from the creek, she was afraid to sew some red sealskin bands on a dancing-cap, though I tried to assure her that it was not forbidden so far away. However, the natives have been compelled to modify this taboo in the case of their foot-gear, which at this season of the year, the late spring, requires mending every two or three days; they may sew sealskin patches therefore on worn-out boot soles, but must not steep them in the stream. Whether it is permissible to make new sealskin shoes on the land, the shoes that are worn in winter over deerskin socks, I am not quite certain. At all events, a woman refused to make me a pair one autumn when she was preparing my other winter clothes, though she promised to make them after we migrated out on to the ice.

It is possible that the prohibition against the sewing of new deerskin clothes on the ice during the dark days of winter also had some connection originally with this differentiation between products of the sea and of the land. At the present time, however, the taboo is in force for very little more than a month, since the natives are usually

still sewing on the coast when the sun disappears, and do not migrate out on to the ice until later. The sun is visible again in the middle of January, after which time they may sew as many new clothes on the ice as they wish. Old clothes may be patched at any season of the year. The women would even make new clothes for us all through the dark days, provided that they were allowed to sew them at our station on the land. This may possibly be another instance, like the repairing of boots at the salmon creeks, where necessity has forced the Eskimos to modify the full application of a taboo that in its origin was much more general and far reaching."

3: Rasmussen--14-15 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo -1-2
116, 152, 181, 294

"I had not been long among the Musk-Ox People before it became clear to me that there was a marked difference between them and the people I had left further east. One thing that could not fail to be observed at once was the infectiously bright spirits they were always in; they were not only full of fun, they were almost defiantly self-assured and so free in their manners that it was often necessary to keep some of them down a little. This presumptious behaviour has probably been the cause of the fear in which quieter tribes hold these Kitlinermiut. On the other hand there was nothing remarkable in their self-assurance; for the vitality that involuntarily radiated from them made them more enterprising and of greater ini- [15] tiative than other natives I have met with in Canada. The very manner in which their implements, especially their bows and arrows, were finished showed that this was a people that lived up to high standards. Their order and cleanliness was exemplary, and, though suffering from a shortage of caribou skins, their garments were not only well looked after but almost elegant. The woman seemed to be expert needlewomen, and put much more work into the decoration of the clothing than the Netsiliks and Hudson-Bay Eskimos. This one circumstance alone was new to me: besides the clothing used for hunting and indoors, they had special festival garments used only in the dance-house. One gained the impression, too, that the women were unusually steady at their work and liked to finish a thing; in this they formed a contrast to the Netsilik women, who would hang for weeks over a piece of sewing without being

able to bring themselves to finish it. In addition to these virtues they had a tongue that was enough to take one's breath away; but as they were always happy and ready for a joke, they were extremely entertaining."

3: Rasmussen--38 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Seal sinews are never used for sewing purposes, as they are so short that people say the seals are ashamed of them. The Puivlermiut form an exception to this rule, however, for in former times they used to make their seal-skin clothing with seal sinews."

3: Rasmussen--38 [3] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"Among the Umingmaktôrmiut there is no taboo against making garments of caribou skin in autumn, as among the Aivilingmiut, Iglulingmiut, Caribou Eskimos and Netsilingmiut. I made exhaustive enquiries as to this among several old people, so that there can be no misunderstanding. This of course does not mean that the people start making clothes on any large scale while living in the tents while the caribou are still migrating. For practical reasons they wait to do so until they have moved into the snow huts; there the making of winter clothing goes on. In comparison it will be remembered how the Netsilingmiut went about in rags right up to the time when they moved into the snow huts."

3: Rasmussen--38 [5] (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294, 784

"The only strict taboo against sewing applies to animals with the coat of hair that is called kaŋalalgit: animals with uncast coat, which have been shot in spring while there was still ice on the sea. These skins may be made into clothing before the new ice forms, but never after.

Nor is there any strict taboo against sewing even new skins during migration time in spring and summer, or against working in stone or with stone during that period -- a taboo that is observed at all times among the Netsilingmiut."

3: Rasmussen--48 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 294

"If it is desired that a little girl should become a clever seamstress, her first little piece of sewing must be fastened to the sleeve of the person who first took her when she was born."

321 tool, and the drill. In our time nearly all these tools had steel or iron blades, and
412 a fifth had been added, a small saw with a blade of hoop iron. Saws were not numerous, however, and it was still a common sight to see a native scoring deep cuts in bone or antler with his grooving tool and then breaking out sections with his adze. The curved whittling knife gave the final shape, and rubbing, first with stone or sand and then with a strip of hide, the smoothness and polish. Musk-ox horn alone was susceptible of a different treatment; to make from it ladles and scoops, the natives split it longitudinally, steamed it over their cooking pots, then opened it out and bent it to shape by simple pressure and hammering.

237 There was current among the Copper Eskimo one other substance similar to the foregoing, baleen, but it was rather scarce, and in the eastern part of the territory almost unknown. Whether it came from stranded whales, or was brought in from the west, I did not discover. The natives used it, apparently,
237 for fishing lines only, lines mainly for catching tomcod during the winter months
227 when the more usual lines of sinew tended to become brittle with encrusted ice.
283 I never saw them cut or split baleen, but doubtless they used the whittling knife for this purpose.

HIDES AND SINEW

237 It is hard for the civilized inhabitant of a warmer country to realize the
[433] immense importance of skins in the domestic economy of the Copper Eskimo. They provide him with clothes and bedding throughout both winter and summer, bags in which to store his clothing, a tent for use nearly half the year when a snow-hut was either uncomfortable or impossible, a cover for his kayak, straps and lashings for his sled, harnesses and traces for the dogs, lines and lashings for harpoons and other weapons, packing lines, dog packs, water buckets, pokes for meat and blubber, and other articles for which Europeans utilize cloth, rope, or metal. It was, consequently, of the utmost importance to the native that he should know how to treat skins to the best advantage. Fortunately, the two animals on which he depended most for his food, the seal and the caribou, were precisely the ones whose hides were the most useful.

281 *Seal Skins.* The Copper Eskimo had two methods of skinning a seal. They
[225] generally made a cut around the base of each flipper, another around the neck, and a third down the belly, after which they separated the skin from the blubber with a knife. As it was impossible to remove all the blubber in this way, the
[462] skin was then soaked in warm water. Holding one end in her mouth while the
[412] other remained in the pot, the woman (for the work almost invariably fell on the housewife) scraped it thoroughly with her curved knife. As soon as the weather was warm enough she set it out to dry, sometimes on top of the house, sometimes on the ground, sometimes pegged over and around a block of snow.

A sealskin thus dried was roughly oval in shape and still retained the hair
[415] on the outside. If you folded in the ends, doubled it over and tied a line to each end, you had the common Copper Eskimo fishing bag; if you laced each
[492] end across through the holes by which it was pegged out, you had a dog pack, broad and flat in the middle where it rested on the animal's back, and bag-shaped at each end for holding the meat or clothing. The hair was no
281 disadvantage in such skins; indeed, for raincoats and for spring foot gear it
294 was indispensable, but as the skin was more supple without it, it was generally removed by resoaking in warm water and scraping with a knife. To soften the skin still more, and to change the outer surface from a dark colour to white, it was subjected to further scraping, and, after drying, rubbed between the hands and chewed between the teeth, when odd scraps that came away found lodging in the chewer's stomach. From these creamy white skins were made the sealskin

shoes worn by both sexes during the greater part of the year. Steeped in urine for several hours they became waterproof, and served for summer boots, water buckets, quivers, and other articles. 281 294

For lines and lashings (which the men made, not the women) it was not necessary to tan the skin; after the removal of the hair the man merely soaked it for a third time in warm water, and cut it in a continuous spiral with his curved whittling knife, while his wife or a friend held the severed parts taut and slightly apart. In cutting he simply pressed the knife, guiding it with his thumb from below, but wherever the strip was very narrow he generally sawed the blade up and down, holding the severed parts in his left hand and guiding the blade with the left index. Newly cut lines were stretched taut between two or more poles out of doors to dry. 281 283 [462]

The second method of skinning a seal was used only when the owner required a bag with a small opening for storing blubber. The woman then cut the skin around the base of the neck and from the bottom of one hind flipper across to the other. To separate the flesh from the skin—and as far as possible also the blubber—she circled the long snow-knife round between them from each end; then by drawing back the flippers and severing them at the joints with her curved knife, she could draw off the skin over the tail. Subsequently she cut away most of the adhering blubber and sewed up the bottom, leaving the neck open to be tied with a sealskin cord when the poke was filled. In most cases she sewed a strap handle to each end to facilitate handling, as these pokes when filled with blubber weighed from 150 to 200 pounds; if the poke was small, however, she substituted for the straps a short stick thrust through the neck. The Copper Eskimo never skinned an animal through the mouth after the manner of the western Eskimo, or closed their pokes with stoppers. 281 225 [412]

Although bearded seals were numerous in Dolphin and Union strait, the Eskimo secured very few; and they used for harpoon and sled lines most of the skins of those they did kill, though they were fully aware of the superiority of bearded over foetid sealskins for foot gear. Even their kayaks they covered with the skin of the much commoner foetid seal. Naturally, they treated both kinds of skin in the same way. [136] [501]

Caribou Skins. More important even than sealskins to the Copper Eskimo were the caribou skins from which he made his bedding and the greater part of his clothes, as well as dog harnesses, spring and summer tents, and many other articles that were absolutely indispensable. He skinned the caribou in a way slightly different from that of the ordinary white hunter or from that of the Indians to the south. Beginning at the throat, he cut right down the belly to the tail, then from the hock of each leg up the back as far as the knee, continuing up the inside of the thigh until he reached the incision along the belly. He next punched away the skin from the body down one side, drew out the tail and pulled the skin off down to the feet, where he cut it away at the level of the front of the hoof. Then he slit it down the side of the cheek through the eye and round the base of the horn, and punched it loose with the handle of the hunting knife. Rolling the animal over, he pulled out the skin from below, punched it free of the whole body, and stripped it off down the remaining two legs. A final cut down this cheek similar to the one on the other side, and a few more punches, completed the operation. Thus the skin of the head was removed in three sections that joined at the neck; but the middle strip ran from between the horns to the top of the nose only, as the Eskimo never troubled to remove the skin around the nostrils. Whenever the horns were in the velvet the hunter could jerk the skin over them; but with old bulls whose horns had many branches and roots almost meeting on the forehead, he was often satisfied to strip only the cheeks and leave the skin on the middle of the face untouched. Occasionally he slit from the nose down to midway between the horns, leaving 281 281 224

a large hole w[illegible] these protruded through and two small holes that marked the eye sockets. The ears he usually cut off at the roots, and pulled them out of the skin with his teeth at his leisure; but in certain circumstances, when it was forbidden to use a knife, he pulled free the outer integument on the spot.

In the late spring, when the caribou was putting on a new coat, the winter hair remained longest on the throat and belly. As this part was useless for clothing, the hair being prone to shed, the Eskimo frequently preserved only the part on which the new coat had already formed and threw the rest of the skin away. In such cases the preliminary incisions for removing the skin followed the outlines of the short hair. Often, however, the native anticipated the natural shedding of the winter hair by pulling it out with his thumb and fingers, leaving the new coat very short and spotted with white hairs, but in this condition highly prized. Later in the season, when the belly of the animal was covered with short white hair, invaluable for trimming, he made a cut along each flank and removed that part of the skin before detaching the remainder.

Blood-stains were extracted by rubbing or stamping the skin in hard snow, which acted like damp blotting paper; or by steeping it in cold water and squeezing the hair. The Copper Eskimo woman was very careful not to allow a green skin to dry before scraping away with her curved knife the fat that still adhered to it; and as these scrapings were pure fat, she generally ate them at once, or put them aside for future consumption. Then she stretched the skin out to dry by pegging it to the ground with sticks or weighting down the edges with stones; the white belly skin and the large short-haired skins intended for bedding she always pegged down in order to stretch them as much as possible. When travelling across country day after day in the short Arctic summer, the skin was laid over the back of the pack or across a long pole; and at every halt it was stretched out afresh on the ground to hasten the drying, because a green skin weighed twice as much as a dry one. Once the skin was dry it could be laid aside and not touched again until needed. Then the owner sewed up the rents and scraped the whole underside with the copper- (now iron-) bladed scraper (*See* p. 84). The woman (or man, for the men often scraped skins while the women sewed them) sat back on the sleeping platform, or on the ground outside the tent, and stretched out the skin in front of her. Holding it tightly pinioned at the bottom between her crossed legs, she pulled it taut above the knee with her left hand and scraped rapidly downwards away from her with the right. A sudden relaxation of the leg, and a quick jerk, found her scraping in a new place. To the onlooker her body seemed strained and her attitude very uncomfortable, but long practice greatly reduced the fatigue, though the labour really was hard. Indeed I have seen the perspiration rolling down a woman's face as she scraped a skin outdoors when the temperature was below zero Fahrenheit.

The Copper Eskimo woman often ate the scrapings that came away during this operation, although they contained very little fat. To soften the skin still further she rubbed tepid water over its under surface, folded it up, and laid it on one side for a few hours. Then she scraped it again, this time with an instrument made from the shoulder blade of a musk-ox, which merely stretched and softened the skin without removing anything from its surface (*See* p. 83).

The stretching and softening of the skin was usually the last process it underwent before it was made up into clothing. If, however, the woman desired the skin without fur, as for making the upper legs of her long boots, she scraped the hair from the dry skin with her curved knife. Copper Eskimo clothing was often decorated with red, black, or white bands; the white was the natural colour of the skin; the red was produced by rubbing with litharge; and the black parts were either untanned sealskin, or else seal or caribou skin stained with galena. Ordinary dirt stains on white deerskin could be removed with dry snow.

223 They skinned birds in exactly the same way as small animals, except that
237 they tore the skin of a small bird down the legs without cutting it, and, when
826 drawing the skin over the head, held the feet in the teeth instead of tying them
136 to a tent-pole or other convenient object. Loon skins made excellent whisks for beating off the mosquitoes. The bill of the largest species of loon, *Gavia stellata*, was frequently sewn to the top of the dancing cap; and the feet skins of swans, geese, and ducks converted into tinder bags. Every household had its stock of ptarmigan skins for use as dusters, and to wipe the hands and face after eating or handling blubber; one skin served the whole family and all its visitors until every feather was worn out. The Eskimo used other bird skins for the same purpose, especially sea-gull skins, the oily feathers being naturally more suitable for towels than ptarmigan feathers. The skins of fish were usually eaten. The Copper Eskimo, unlike others of their race, never made any real clothing from fish or bird skins, although sometimes they stuffed a few feathers or the skin of a loon inside their sealskin shoes.

[301] [415] [515] [262] [294]

CHAPTER II

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Excluding the outer shoes, which were made of sealskin, it required no less than seven caribou hides to furnish the adult Copper Eskimo with one complete suit of clothing for winter travel; and every man really needed two suits, besides a raincoat and special footgear for the spring and summer months. In winter his costume comprised two frocks or coats (*atigi*) worn one inside the other, the fur of the outer on the outside, and the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat (*qulitaq*), whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of breeks (*qaqlik*), worn in the same way as the coats; two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees (inner pair *olektik*, outer *mitqulik*); a pair of caribou fur slippers (*iluqeqquk*) between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes (*tuktukaluk*) as a final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit. The overcoat, unlike the outer garments, which were fashioned from summer skins, was made from the heavy winter coat of the caribou, and generally required two full skins for its manufacture. Of the two ordinary coats or *atigi*, the outer (*kapitaq*) also required the greater part of two skins because of its ornamental pattern, but the inner coat (*iluqaq*) could usually be made from one hide. Two more hides, with the fragments left over from the coats, generally sufficed for the breeks, footgear, and mittens. Caps were fairly common, but, apart from the ceremonial dancing cap, were worn mainly by children, as the ordinary coat nearly always carried a hood that could be drawn up over the head.

MEN'S CLOTHING

Coats. Except that they were closed down the front and provided with a hood to cover the head, men's outer and inner coats resembled in most cases the formal evening dress of Europeans; for in front they were cut away at the waist, and behind they trailed a tail that extended anywhere from below the knees to the ankles. Outer and inner garments alike were normally fashioned from caribou furs, the outer always, and the inner usually, from light summer skins. The outer alone was decorated with special insertions, and it, therefore, differed considerably in make-up from the inner coat, although Eskimo seamstresses did not adhere in either garment to one unchanging pattern, but varied the numbers and positions of their seams according to the shapes and sizes of the skins at their command. The sleeves of both garments were always a separate addition, not put together in any set way but pieced from fragments of skins. In inner coats all the back and the greater part of the hood were generally cut out from one piece of skin; the shoulders, front, and sides were either from one skin section also, or else from two joined together in a straight line from chin to waist. In outer coats, if we omit the decorative insertions, one piece gave the long tail and nearly all the middle of the back, a second the sides of the back and such of the front as was not filled by insertions; two small oblong pieces then filled the gaps, if any, under the arms, and a fifth piece, which carried with

291 it a narrow appendage running half-way down the middle of the back, gave the
294 hood, except for a wide border around the face. Figures 3 and 4 show how the
287 patterns of the two coats differed.

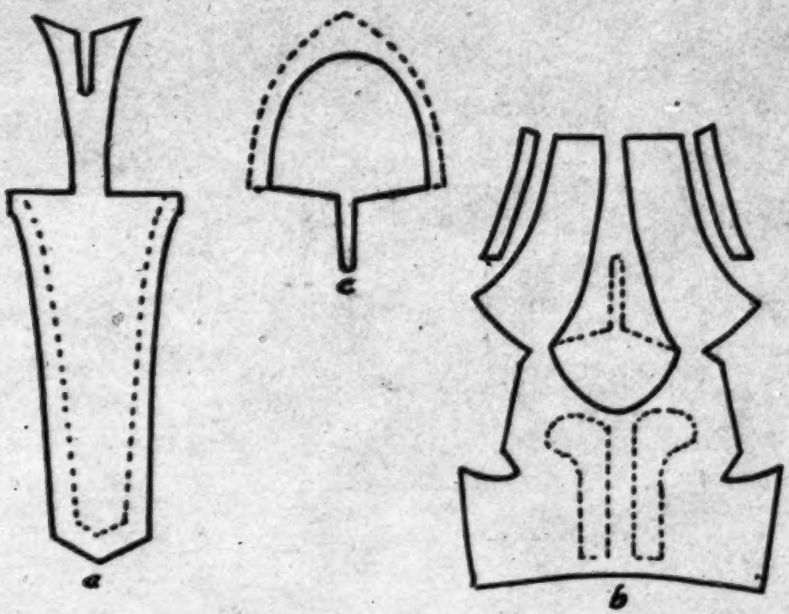

Figure 3. Pattern of man's outer coat; a: back; b: front and sides; c: hood.

294 There were naturally certain rules governing the cutting of skins for the
[287] outer coat, but I failed to record them. Fashion decreed that between the shoulder blades should glisten a spot of white fur, preferably the tip of the caribou's tail; hence many women used the fur on the animal's rump and tail for the hood and for its narrow appendage down the back. Other women merely sewed to the end of this appendage a little splash of white fur from the animal's belly, which produced exactly the same effect. A second very common fashion was to adorn the hood with the two upstanding ears of the caribou; so many women made this part of the garment from the fur on the head and neck. Other women used the head and neck fur on the back of the coat so that the ears fell between the shoulder blades. The shoulders were always proportionately larger than in European coats, in order that the arms might be easily withdrawn from the sleeves; and around the margin of each garment, on the inside, was sewn a narrow band of dehaired skin, white or red, to prevent the edges from curling. It was customary to peak the hood of the coat, and this peaking, with the two upstanding ears and the long tail trailing between the legs, gave a stooping Eskimo so close a likeness to a caribou that it sometimes deceived his dogs hauling on the sled behind him and spurred them on to greater effort.

294

The decoration on the outer coat consisted of insertions of white fur, and, on the whole, varied little from one coat to another. Covering each breast were two broad thrusts of this fur, edged at times (particularly among east Coronation Gulf natives) with stripes of dehaired skin, stained red; between them often ran a narrow vertical strip of the same material. All the borders were fringed with white, one or, less often, two narrow white bands paralleled the edge of the tail and hood, and one or two encircled or half encircled each upper arm.

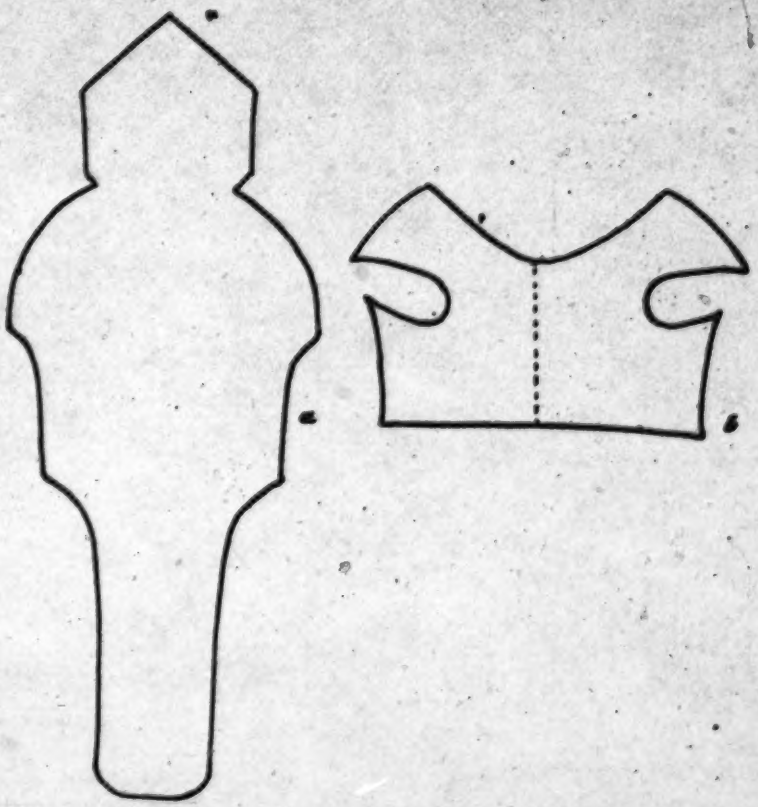

Figure 4. Pattern of man's inner coat; a: back; b: front.

Strings of white fur 6 inches or so long hung down from the edges, from the backs of the shoulders and the hood, and from the white armbands. In Coronation Gulf these strings were generally spaced evenly and formed continuous lines, but in Dolphin and Union Strait it was more usual to group them in clusters of three or four. The frontispiece, and Figures 5 and 6, show the striking effect produced by the white insertions on the background of plain brown fur.

(184)

• 294
291

14

Figure 6a. Man's coat, front.

18

294
291

Figure 18. Same coat, back. IV.D.988. Approx. 1/8.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

291
• 294

Figure 6. Back of man's outer coat. IV.D.777. Approx. 1/6.

291
In these decorated outer coats the white front stained rather easily, and 294
the high waist was unsuitable for travelling in cold weather because it gave inadequate protection to the stomach. The latter defect could be partly remedied by slightly lengthening the front of the inner coat so that it would overlap the trousers by several inches. This the Eskimo often did. Even so, however, they generally reserved the short-waisted outer coat for evening wear, or for occasions when they wished to appear well dressed; and they wore for working and midwinter travelling an outer coat of heavy winter caribou fur that was nearly as long in front as behind, and that carried no decoration beyond an occasional white armband.[1] Many natives at the east end of Coronation Gulf, 291
and one or two at the west end, affected a compromise garment; they wore both 294
at home, and when travelling, a coat of moderately light fur that in pattern and 184
decoration conformed to the style of the short-waisted coat, and could, therefore, take its place on ceremonial occasions, but which reached in front nearly to the knees, sometimes even below, and adequately protected the body in stormy weather[2]; on warm days it was often "pinned up" by hooking loops of sinew from the bottom edge to small toggles of wood attached around the waist. These same natives, however, nearly always possessed the heavier, undecorated coat so serviceable for midwinter sealing, and even at times the short-waisted coat. In such cases they occasionally dispensed with a hood on the latter garment, as it was no longer needed for outdoor wear.

We encountered in Bathurst Inlet a native who had modelled his coat on the style current among the Back River and other Eskimo living inland on the Barren Grounds. The tail, instead of being narrow and rather oblong, was broad and rounded, and separated from the equally long and rounded front only by a deep slit up each side. Long strings of dehaired caribou skin hung in a close-set fringe from all the lower border.

Nearly all Eskimo men possessed still another outer coat, made not from 292
caribou fur, but from the skin of the common foetid seal. It had the same shape as the heavy winter sealing and travelling coat, but was generally a little shorter, seldom reaching as far as the knees. It served primarily as a raincoat during the damp days of summer when caribou fur sheds its hair, but a few [132]
natives wore it also for sealing during the months of May and early June when the snow is wet and soggy. Naturally, it was never decorated; even its bottom [294]
edge was seldom trimmed evenly, but often retained the holes through which the green skins had been pegged out to dry (Figure 7).

Inner and Outer Trousers. In winter, men wore two pairs of caribou-fur 291
trousers (*qaqlik*), with the fur of the inner, as usual, against the body, and the fur of the outer turned outwards; in summer they laid aside the outer pair and wore only the inner, still with its fur inward. Both were approximately of the same length, barely overlapping the tops of the stockings; occasionally the inner pair was one-half inch to an inch longer (Figure 8). This inner pair was not decorated in any way, but often had a fringe of long-haired fur around the bottom, to protect the knees, as neither the inner nor the outer trousers carried drawstrings to bind them around the legs. The inner were often made from the heavy winter fur of the caribou, whereas for the outer, light summer skins were preferred, except for midwinter sealing. Most outer trousers were decorated 291
on the legs; some carried bands of coloured skin at the bottom similar to those 294
on stockings (Figure 9); others, a wide edging of white fur, and two or three narrower bands above; others again, combined these two types of decoration, or displayed more palpable geometrical designs in white bands. Most of the outer trousers had a drawstring around the waist that issued at the back through two

[1] For a photograph of a native wearing such a garment see Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, fig. 88, p. 200.

[2] For a photograph see Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. B, Plate VII (lower right).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 20]

291 holes in the casing, and tied in front; a few were held up by a belt or cord of
294 sealskin, occasionally fitted, like the women's belt, with a toggle on one end and a loop on the other. As there were no keepers for this belt, each man's outer

Figure 6. Men's outer trousers. IV.D.970. Approx 1/8

trousers as lacked the drawstring had generally two caribou ears sewn on in front, one on each side, to prevent them from slipping down. The inner trousers carried no drawstring, but were less apt to slip down when worn alone, because the pressure of the belt on the hairless side caused the edge to fold over.

Sealskin Shoes. The creamy yellow shoes of dressed sealskin (*tuktuhutuk*) that formed the outermost covering of the feet during the winter months, and were commonly worn around camp in the summer, contrasted pleasingly with the brown and white caribou fur in the rest of the costume. The Eskimo made their shoes on two patterns. One type, the easiest to make, was a plain shoe (*uksuviqtuk*) in which the whole upper part covering the instep was a separate piece attached to the sole by a seam around the edge of the foot. More decorative, and, therefore, always preferred for dances, was the second type (*tuatuatsiaq*), in which the sole was crimped over the toes and its edges joined to an inserted V-shaped "tongue", broad or narrow according to the fancy of the maker, and cut from brownish black, undressed sealskin that stood out prominently in its yellow setting. The two patterns are shown in Figure 10.

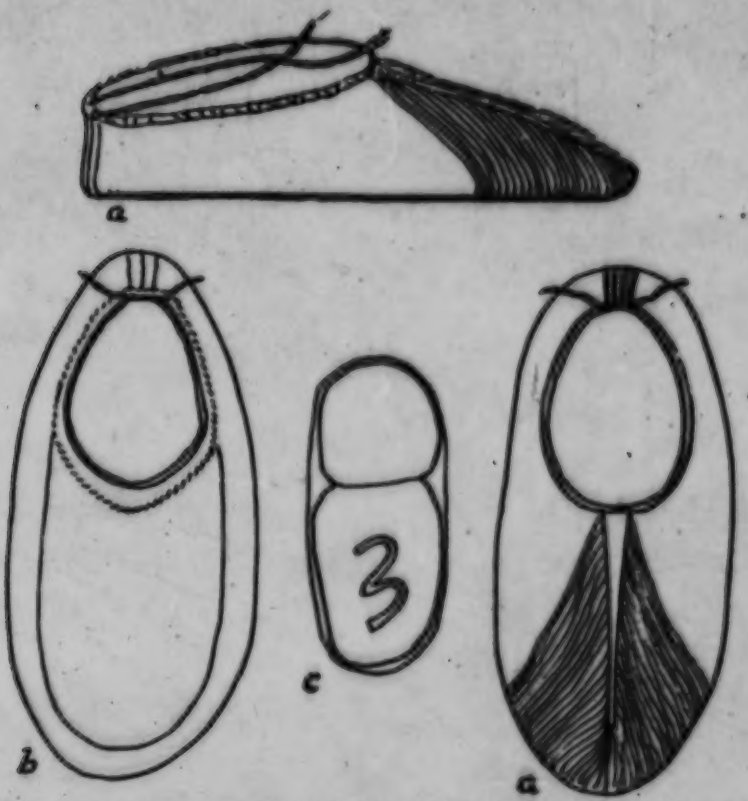

Figure 10. Sealskin shoes; a: crimped; b: plain; c: sole of b showing crimpers. IV.D.31, 1888.

In both types of shoes the sole was turned up over the heel, and either crimped (the tucks being threaded together with sinew knotted at both ends), or else slit, and, after the removal of one or more triangular sections, joined

together again. Heel crimping was naturally confined almost entirely to the more decorative shoes. When not crimped, this type usually had one seam up the middle of the heel, whereas the plainer type frequently had two and even three.

A casing of sealskin (more rarely, caribou skin), undressed, and sometimes not even dehaired, was sewn round the top of the shoe to hold a cord of plaited sinew (*singig*) that emerged through two holes at the back and tied in a bow over the instep. Two large patches of sealskin, dehaired but undressed, covered the whole or almost the whole of the sole, giving it double thickness; and wherever a hole were in either patch, another was promptly superimposed on it. These patches had to be sewn on with concealed stitches that caught only the under surface, because the thread would quickly fray and break if it penetrated to the outside. Natives who anticipated considerable walking on glare ice or very hard, firmly packed snow sometimes added also narrow, meandering patches —"creepers"—to give them securer foothold (Figure 10c).

In the autumn of 1915, when the party with which I was travelling was still hunting inland, an Eskimo induced his wife to make him a pair of caribou-fur overshoes and to reinforce them with extra soles of sealskin. From another native I obtained a similar pair of caribou-fur overshoes that bore outer soles of dehaired caribou skin, and, over the outer soles, patches of sealskin. These were probably copied from the shoes of the inland Eskimo to the southeast, where they were invariably made from caribou fur, as the Copper Eskimo well knew. Around Coronation Gulf they were regarded with disfavour for ordinary use, because, although warmer, they readily soaked up the damp from the half-thawing floor of the snow-hut and immediately shed their fur. They were more practicable among the inland Eskimo, whose snow-huts were not so warm, because, lacking seal oil, they burned caribou fat in their lamps, which served in the main for lighting only.

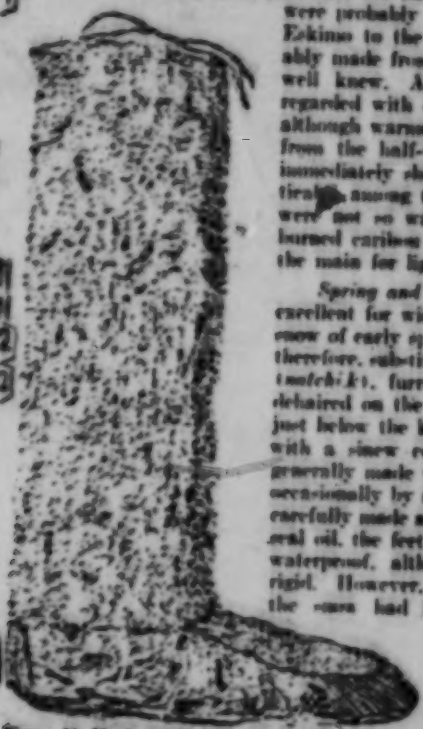

Figure 11. Man's spring boot. IV.D.1029. 1/3.

Spring and Summer Boots. Sealskin shoes were excellent for winter wear, but against the soft deep snow of early spring quite inadequate. The Eskimo, therefore, substituted for them long boots of sealskin (*natchiksk*), furred on the outside of the legs but dehaired on the feet (Figure 11). They reached to just below the knees, and were there tightly bound with a sinew cord that passed through a casing, generally made with an extra band of sealskin, but occasionally by merely sewing down the edge. When carefully made and saturated from time to time with seal oil, the feet of these boots were soft but quite waterproof, although the uppers were somewhat rigid. However, toward the end of spring, when the snow had largely melted, the streams were running, and pools of water lay everywhere, the Eskimo changed to their real waterboots (*iperautik*) (Figure 12), which were similar in shape, but dehaired throughout their entire

length.[1] They were tied, too, not around the top, but around the ankle, by means 291
of a cord that threaded through two loops, one on the outside of the foot, the 291
other on the inside.

Figure 12. Man's waterboot. 19.D.1088. 1/4.

In both types of boots the sole was commonly crimped up at heel and toe 291
and sewn to an upper, V-shaped piece, exactly as in the better type of sealskin 291 •

[1] On the feet of young boots the hair was not scraped off, but clipped as closely as possible with scissors, thus preserving 291
the full thickness of the skin.

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sinew. In boots, however, this V-shaped piece was never narrow, as in many shoes, but covered most of the upper surface of the foot. The leg was sewn on last; besides the seam where it joined the foot, it here a vertical seam up the front. The loops for the cord were an integral part of every waterboot, being carefully stitched in when the sole was sewn to its V-shaped upper. Grass insoles, [824] such as were worn in waterboots by more western natives, were not current among the Copper Eskimo, whose short socks of seal and caribou fur fulfilled the same purpose.

One saw occasionally a hybrid type of boot, which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur, usually, if not always, taken from an outer stocking that had worn out in the sole. Boots of this type, like the boots with legs of haired sealskin, functioned only in the early spring and late autumn; from the beginning of June until October waterboots prevailed at all times, except that the low sealskin shoes served as slippers around camp.

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Figure 13 Man's outer stockings. IV.D.773, 786. Approx. 1/2.

296 Boot soles, like the soles of shoes, were naturally reinforced with patches that demanded repair or replacement every 2 or 3 days when traveling over stony ground. As soon as the hunter returned to camp each evening his wife turned his boots inside out to dry, and, if necessary, soaked in a pot of urine enough sealskin to patch them in the early morning. Hide from the bearded seal lasted three or four times as long as hide from the foetid seal, but the Eskimo seldom possessed enough of the material.

Good waterboots, boots, that is to say, that would actually keep out the water, required very skilful sewing. If the thread gave out when making a seam the woman did not simply knot it and start afresh, but she carefully spliced a new thread into the end of the old; and she greased both the thread and the skin with blubber to prevent any tearing at the punctures. Men commonly tested a new pair of waterboots by standing in water, and unmercifully scolded their wives if the result proved unsatisfactory.

Figure 14. Man's outer stockings. IV.D.975, 772. Approx. 1/3.

Outer Stockings. The Copper Eskimo never wore an outer pair of stockings (*mitqolik*) except with sealskin shoes, because they were a needless encumbrance under the spring and summer boots. Like the latter, they reached to just below the knees, where either a casing was added or their upper edges stitched down to hold the cord of sinew that fastened in front of the leg and kept them in place. The outer side of the stocking, of course, was always furred. We may distinguish four varieties. The first and commonest, called simply *mitqolik* (Figure 13), was made from caribou leg skins, in which the hair lies flat and smooth; the second, *kamakpak*, from the body coat of the caribou, in which the

292 hair is longer and stands out straighter, making the stocking seem very bulky.
294 Fashion decreed that in this second variety there should be a streak of white
[192] fur down the inside of the leg. The third variety, also called, I believe, *kamakpak*, was made from less heavy body skin, and decorated at intervals with narrow bands of white fur that usually encircled the leg, but in some stockings ran vertically. This variety was quite popular, because it was serviceable for travelling, like the former two, and also acceptable in the dance house.
[192] The real dancing stocking, which was rarely worn upon the trail, was the *kamakparyuk*, in which all or nearly all the leg was encircled by narrow parallel bands in three colours, white, red, and black or brownish black (Figure 14a). The white was given by close-clipped caribou fur or dressed sealskin, the black, by the natural colour of dehaired sealskin, darkened still more at times with galena, and the red, by dehaired sealskin stained with litharge.

Variations of these four types were not uncommon, for the Eskimo were quick to seize any new idea that presented itself. Thus, some stockings combined the characteristics of the third and fourth varieties; they were furred below the calf of the leg and decorated with one or more stripes of white-haired caribou skin, and above, they bore the parallel, coloured bands. Other stockings had two or three consecutive rows of coloured bands, usually black and white only, arranged at intervals down the furred legs. Illustrations of some of these variations are shown in Figures 13 and 14.

The feet of outer stockings were nearly always stitched from caribou leg skins, but the seams did not follow any definite pattern. One occasionally encountered feet made of haired sealskin, which were less warm than feet of caribou fur, but were not spoiled by the dampness that often penetrated through the sealskin overshoes from the soggy floor of the snow-hut.

Figure 13. Man's inner stocking. IV.D.23. 1/3.

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Inner Stockings. The inner stockings (*aiktik*) coincided in length with the outer but were nearly always made from the thick winter skin on the body of the caribou and worn with the fur inside. As they were normally invisible, and did not need to be attractive, they were often pieced together from sections of old coats, sleeping skins, and other articles. The seams, therefore, followed no definite patterns, except that one usually ran lengthwise down the middle of the sole, because this was the easiest way to shape the foot. They needed no cord around the top, being stiff enough to keep their shape even when they were not held up by the outer stockings or the boots (Figure 15).

Socks. Between the outer and inner stockings came the socks (*ilapeqpak*), worn with the fur on the outside. Generally they were made from the thick winter coat of the caribou (Figure 16), but sometimes from the thinner summer coat, and occasionally, especially in children's clothing, from other skins such as hare, muskrat, and even loon. A few, for greater warmth, were of double [291] [192]

Figure 16. Man's caribou-fur socks. IV.D.787. 1/4

Figure 17. Man's outer socks, of seal fur. IV.D.783. 1/4.

Figure 18. Man's outer sock, of muskrat. IV.D.1335. 1/4.

thickness and presented fur on both the inside and outside. Each sock was commonly shaped from a single piece of skin, slit front and back, then seamed from toe to instep and up the heel; but there were numerous exceptions to this rule. [294]

I have never seen a specimen, but a native of that region told me that the skin was split down the middle of the back so that the long wing feathers would fall over the dancer's shoulders. The bill, after careful cleansing, was whitened with gypsum, and, whenever possible, one of the valuable blue beads that reached this area from Siberia was tied to the nostril of the upstanding bill. The dancer also planted a long wing feather on the front of his head, and one on each side. Only the skin of a yellow-billed loon (*Gavia stellata*) was acceptable for such a head-dress; any other skin would have excited ridicule.

Mittens. The ordinary mittens (*pualluk*) were very short, covering the hands but leaving so much of the wrists bare that, unless protected by long coat sleeves, they were often severely frost-bitten. Adults seemed very indifferent to this defect, though they sometimes finished off the edges with long-haired fringes of white fur that afforded some slight protection; but mothers often lengthened the mittens of their children.

Most of the mittens were single, with fur on the outside only, where it covered the whole surface (Figure 23a). A few were made double to carry fur on both sides (Figure 23b); others had fur all over the outside, except on the palm, where it was inside (Figure 23c); and a type that usually bore two or three ornamental bands of white fur around the wrist, or across the back of it, had no fur at all on the palm, inside or outside (Figure 23d). The last type was much in vogue for dances because it furnished a better grip on the heavy drum-handle, but whether it developed on this account is not known.

Most short mittens were made from the brown summer skins of the caribou, but some were also made from the heavier white winter skins. Naturally only those made from the brown summer skins carried the insertions of white fur. One occasionally saw mittens of polar bear skin or sealskin, which were stiffer and (the sealskin once at least) not so warm as caribou-fur mittens, but, unlike the latter, did not shed their fur with dampness. They were particularly serviceable, therefore, for such tasks as icing the sled runners.

If we leave out of consideration the white insertions just mentioned, every mitten was cut out in three pieces. One piece gave the palm and half the thumb; a second, the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb; and the third formed the whole back of the mitten. The general pattern can be seen in Figure 24.

Besides his short, everyday mittens each man owned a pair of long ones (*atqatik*) for working with snow, and especially for building the snow-hut (Figure 25). It was made, preferably, from the leg skins of the caribou, on which the long hair lies smooth and flat; and it covered the sleeve of the coat to about the middle of the forearm, where a sinew drawstring that passed through a narrow band of dehaired skin, doubled back and sewn all round the upper edge, checked the penetration of the snow. Being solely a working mitten (whence it commonly received another name, *savaktotik*, i.e., "working garment") it carried no ornamentation and was furred on the outside only. Like the shorter mitten, it was cut out in three pieces.

Figure 12. Mittens of caribou fur. IV.D.1014, 999, 1112, 1122. Approx. 1/4.

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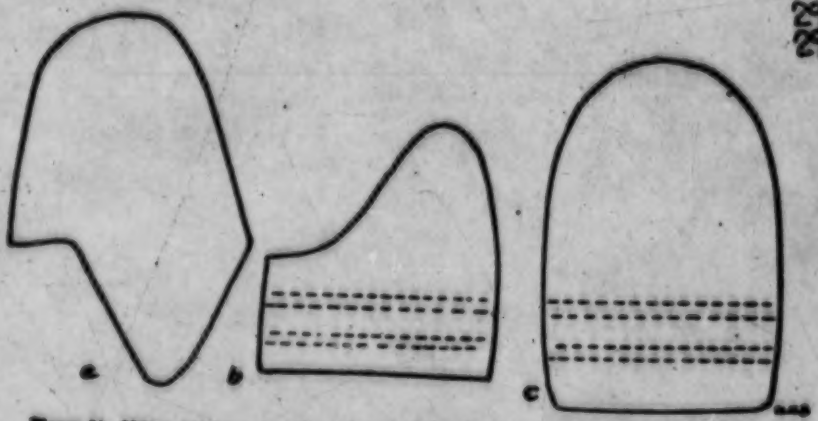

Figure 31. Mitten patterns; a: palm and part of thumb; b: part of thumb and wrist; c: back.

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Figure 32. Man's long mittens, of caribou fur; a: front; b: back. IV.D.1088. 1/3.

WOMEN'S CLOTHING

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Coats. Women's coats differed appreciably from men's in two respects only; the shoulders were greatly enlarged and the hood magnified into a kind of bag. Both the outer and inner coats were cut on the same general pattern as men's outer coats except for the hood, which in the outer garment was built up of five pieces (excluding insertions and the white fringe around the face); in the inner, where the fur required no matching and carried no insertions, it was made on a simpler pattern (Figure 28). When enlarging the backs of the garments

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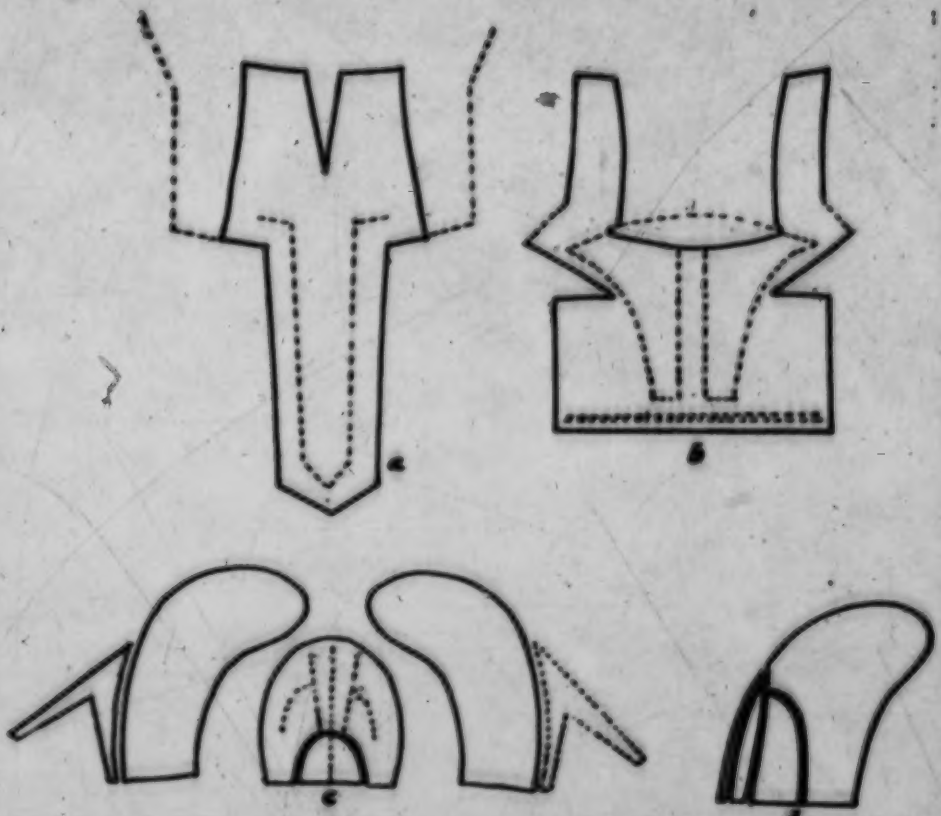

Figure 28. Patterns of women's coats: a: back; b: front and sides; c: hood of outer coat; d: hood of inner coat. Approx. 1/12.

to make room for a baby the V-shaped gusset between the shoulders was replaced by a fuller, more or less oblong one, and the neck-piece of the hood expanded to correspond; a cord tied around the hips, over the outer coat, kept the infant from slipping down.

Many women attached to the bottom of the outer coat, in the very middle of the front, a triangular piece of fur, brown, white, or brown with white insertions. With the white gusset in the front of the trousers, and the white or coloured edges of the outer stocking, this gave a series of more or less symmetrical triangles inside one another, all having the bottom edge of the coat for their base (Figure 27). The same triangular appendage sometimes appeared on men's coats also, but much more rarely, because, standing isolated, it could not produce the same decorative effect.

Figure 27. Outline of the white insertions on the upper edges of women's outer stockings, on the front of the trousers, and on the bottom of the coat, showing the symmetrical V patterns, one inside the other.

As common, or almost as common as this triangular appendage was a long, narrow, rectangular one, fringed, like the bottom edge of the coat, with white fur. Here the dark line of appendage fur merely continued the dark line down the middle of the coat.[1]

The decoration of women's outer coats generally coincided with that on men's, except that white armbands encircled the forearms instead of the upper arms. A coat from Bathurst Inlet offered the most striking variation; down the middle of the front it carried the regular tattooing design, a Y flanked on each side by an I, produced by narrow bands of red-stained skin that were edged and dotted with running stitches of white skin in such a way as to give the impression of embroidery (Figure 28). One or two other women in the same district wore coats modelled after those in vogue among the inland Eskimo to the southeast; that is to say, they were of nearly equal length back and front, slit up the sides, edged with close-set fringes of dehaired caribou thongs, and provided with hoods about half as long again as those normally current among the Copper Eskimo.

[1] See Plate IX A, Reports of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A (in press).

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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Figure 28 Front of woman's coat, decorated with a running stitch. IV.D.668. Approx. 1/8.

Trousers. Women, like men, wore two pairs of trousers (*salikkak*) in winter, and only the inner pair in summer; but as their stocking covered more of the leg than the men's, their trousers were shorter and did not reach the knees. 291 192

The inner pair was rarely if ever decorated. The outer often had coloured stripes down the outside of each leg, and, in the middle of the front, a triangular gusset of white fur, with its two sides parallel to the white or coloured edges of the stockings. To enhance the symmetry of the arrangement these two sides also carried at times an edging of coloured bands (Figure 29). 291 531

So far as I know, women never used drawstrings on their trousers, but secured them with a sealskin thong fitted with loop and toggle. 291

Shoes, Socks, and Mittens. These were in no way different from those worn by men. Women, of course, did not possess the long working mittens that reached half-way up the forearm.

Waterboots. The woman's waterboot (Figure 30) had the shape of the stocking beneath it, which above the foot differed entirely from a man's boot or stocking. After fitting tightly around the ankle it expanded rapidly upward, attaining just above the knee a diameter of from 10 inches to over a foot. The outer side of the boot (or stocking) then tapered to form a wide strap that tucked over the belt holding up the trousers.

In the foot it did not differ from a man's boot. Like a man's, too, the leg had only one seam, straight up the middle; but in so large an expanse of skin there were generally two or three holes, from wounds and other causes, that required covering with round patches.

Outer Stockings. The waterboot replaced in summer the outer stocking (*ipiyu.k*) of caribou fur, which bore the same peculiar shape as the boot, but was frequently decorated after the manner of the man's outer stocking. Commonly all the upper edge, from the inside of the knee to the top of the strap that tucked into the belt, was bordered with several parallel rows in red, white, and black (either the black or the red, but more commonly the red, might be omitted). From the strap to the foot, down the front of the leg, ran another broad band, similarly coloured, and a third, or else two or three rather narrow bands inserted an inch or two apart, extended half-way around the ankle or completely encircled it (*See* Figure 31). There were numerous modifications of this pattern, however, as in the patterns on men's stockings. For example, the coloured stripes varied greatly in number; they were often replaced by broad or narrow bands of white caribou fur; and the decoration down the front of the leg was frequently omitted (*See* Figure 32). 292 531 [192]

The feet of both outer and inner stockings were made preferably from caribou leg skins, but not infrequently from marmot fur. In spring some women replaced them with feet of haired sealskin. The rest of the garment was derived from the body fur of the caribou. 291 292 237

Inner Stockings. These corresponded in shape with the outer, and bore the same name, *ipiyu.k*, but were almost invariably plain. In fact, I have seen only one decorated pair, a specimen that came from Prince Albert Sound. It bore the usual red, white, and black stripes, but they were inserted on the hairless, unattractive side, as the stocking was worn with the fur side in. Around the ankle was an additional design, the YII pattern that women tattooed on their arms and etched on their needle-cases, here produced by running stitches of very narrow sealskin (*Figure* 33). This design was very rare on garments, but occurred also on a woman's coat and on a pair of women's outer stockings that we bought in Coronation Gulf. 291 531 [192] [304] [294] [126]

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

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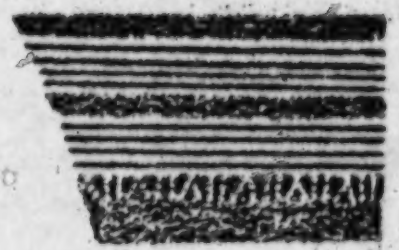

Figure 33. Insertions on the bottom of a woman's inner stocking. IV.D.1003.

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING

Within the snow-hut or tent a baby sprawled stark naked on bedskins, or wore only a caribou-fur diaper, covered at times with a second diaper of either caribou skin or sealskin that fastened around the waist with a cord. Without other protection than this the mother carried it on the trail under the fur coat. In very cold weather, however, she generally added warm mittens and socks of any available fur, caribou, marmot, or hare; often, too, a square of fur on the back fastened by two cords, one around the neck and the other around the waist. The baby's front, of course, needed no covering, as it rested directly against the mother's bare back.

As soon as the child was old enough to stand on its feet it received a proper suit of clothing, generally made at first in one piece (Figure 34). The front, as in European combinations, was slit down the middle and laced across; another slit passed between the legs. Each mitten was sewn half-way around the edge of the sleeve, leaving a gap through which the hand could protrude; and there was a hood that pulled up over the head. Sealskin shoes completed the costume, which was naturally doubled in cold weather and augmented by separate outer stockings. Occasionally, a cap was substituted for the usual hood, and a few suits had the slit, not in front, but at the back. Although the usual material was caribou fur, marmot fur was nearly as common in districts where marmots were plentiful, because it did not spoil so readily with dampness.

At the age of about 5 or 6 the child again changed its costume. It now wore a separate coat shaped like its parent's, but often lacking the long tail; combination trousers and stockings held up either by a belt or by a strap over one shoulder; outer stockings reaching to just below the knees; and sealskin shoes. Some of these combination trousers and stockings fitted very tightly, others were broad and flowing. The clothing of a girl at this time was indistinguishable from that of a boy, except that her coat often had the wide shoulders that characterised her mother's coat. Some girls retained this child's costume up to the time of their marriage,[1] but most boys and girls adopted full adult clothing as they approached adolescence. It was quite common for a child to wear an inner suit, all in one piece, beneath an outer suit in which the coat and trousers were separate.

There was seldom any decoration on the outer suit made all in one piece, and such as did occur seemed to consist merely of narrow white bands of caribou fur around the sleeves and possibly elsewhere. Boys' and girls' combination outer trousers and stockings occasionally showed similar white bands. From Coronation Gulf I obtained a girl's combination outer trousers and stockings that had borne two parallel stripes of white fur around each leg just above the ankle. When the fur became worn, however, and the costume shabby, it had been reversed to serve as inner combinations, and decorated down the front of the legs and around the ankles, on the now outer, hairless side, with narrow bands of black and white sealskin similar to those on women's outer stockings (Figure 33). No other inner combination suit, to my knowledge, bore any decoration; this one seemed as unique of its kind as the woman's inner stockings illustrated in Figure 33.

[1] For a photograph showing a marriageable girl in this costume see Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, vol. XII, pt. A, Pl. VIII (p. 200 top right).

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Figure 34. Child's combination suit. IV.D.176. Approx. 1/8.

28: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1946
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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF COPPER ESKIMO CLOTHING

291 296 Some of the disadvantages of Copper Eskimo clothing have been mentioned already. The caribou fur shed its hair with dampness, and the shoes and boots soled with the skin of the common seal quickly were cut on stony ground and required almost daily patching during the summer months. The swarming mosquitoes of midsummer frequently assailed the only half-covered knees and wrists; the high-waisted coat hardly checked the winter gales from chilling the stomach; and the rather scanty hood could not shield the forehead and cheeks from frostbite. Despite these defects the costume of the men was extraordinarily well adapted to the climatic conditions, and capable of very little improvement with the meagre resources at their command. It was both lighter and warmer than woollen clothing of proportionate bulk, and at the same time much healthier, because it allowed the air to circulate freely under the trousers and coat. The four-layered footgear was eminently practical, being much easier to dry over a blubber-burning lamp than the thick-furred two-layered footgear, fitting tightly around the legs of long breeches, which has long been fashionable among the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River delta and northern Alaska. The women's costume, however, was much less satisfactory. The wide shoulders and enormous hood were wholly unnecessary, and the latter both heavy and cumbersome. Worse still were the ridiculous stockings, which hardly protected the legs even in mild weather, and in blizzards frequently filled with snow. More than one woman had lost her toes by wearing them, and many had incurred severe frostbites.

296 The Copper Eskimo took great care of their clothing, as was only natural, seeing that skins were never too plentiful and the labour of dressing them, cutting them out, and sewing them together was considerable. The first thought of every native on entering a snow-hut was to beat the loose snow from his clothing with the stick that each household provided for that purpose. Spare clothes were packed away in large seal- or caribou-hide bags, which were stored in winter either in a cavity under the sleeping platform or on the roof of the snow-hut beyond reach of the dogs; in summer they were deposited on high caches under other possessions, or buried beneath mounds of stones. Stripes of 294 white fur from the belly of the caribou received special attention on account of 281 their value for insertions, and the women carefully cleaned them of all dirt and blood-stains with soft snow.

ADORNMENT

301 237 *Ornaments and Charms Attached to Clothing.* Men's coats often trailed on the back white lemming skins, arranged with the usual regard for symmetry. There were generally three skins, one attached to the back of each shoulder and the third spaced half-way between them at a somewhat lower level (*See* Figure 36); rarely there were five, arranged in the same fashion, but, of course, closer together, and forming a slightly curved line parallel with the lines at the neck and waist. A native who owned only one lemming skin generally sewed it midway between the shoulders, but at times suspended it from a button in the small of the back. This button, made of bone, musk-ox horn, or, rarely, the boiled albumen of a bird's egg (Figure 37), appeared quite frequently on the everyday outer coat, and was an integral part of the heavy winter coat used in sealing, where it served to attach both the hunter's foot-pad of polar bear or caribou fur and the bone pins with which he closed the wounds in his seals. Men seldom affected other ornaments, but one Prince Albert Sound Eskimo wore a bandolier of musk-ox fur, and another a bandolier of polar-bear claws suspended from a strap of caribou hide (Figure 38).

lines, harpoon lines, and lashings of various kinds. No doubt the Copper Eskimo in emergencies made use of sinew from other sources, for the Mackenzie Delta natives sometimes use the sinew on the tail of the fox, which is about a foot long and said to be of excellent quality. 283

After the flesh had been carefully scraped away the sinew was allowed to dry a little; but as prolonged exposure to the heat of the sun rendered it stiff and brittle, it was generally stored away at once in a bag. The value of a slab of back sinew was fairly high everywhere along the Arctic coast.[1] Caribou were very abundant in the Copper Eskimo country until about 1919, but in the absence of linen or cotton thread—which in any case is less suitable for skin garments—sinew was in such great demand that it was constantly traded from one family or group to another. [435] [136] [437]

For ordinary sewing a thin strand was stripped off the slab with the teeth or thumb nail, drawn through the teeth to remove all roughness, and rolled against the cheek to twist it into a single smooth thread. Waterboots, however, called for a stouter three-ply thread, made by the women and girls in the house, where they fastened the ends of the threads to the drying rack, and caught the middle strand between the second and third fingers while they crossed the two outer ones with the thumbs and index fingers. Fishing lines of leg sinew were plaited similarly of three strands, but the harpoon lines, which required to be flat, had from four to eight strands, sometimes even more. Twisting, as with rope, was an unknown art.

Sewing Bags and Baskets. A Copper Eskimo woman without her needle and thread would have been as uncomfortable as a European housewife without her knitting. Sewing was no impediment to gossip: the woman sat on the sleeping skins, her legs doubled under her or stretched out in front, and plied her needle and her tongue at the same rate. Always she sewed from right to left; only a left-handed person sewed in the opposite direction. She held the thimble on the first finger (not on the middle, as we do), and pushed the needle through the skin with the side of the thimble, not with its top, if indeed it had a top. Then she caught the point between the thumb and middle finger, drew the needle out, turned it on its side, and with her thimble behind it pulled through the thread and reinserted the needle for the next stitch. Usually she did not tauten the thread until the second stitch. 294 462 [516] [521]

There was more sewing to be done at certain seasons than at others. Thus, in the autumn, all the new clothing for the winter had to be finished before the sun disappeared below the horizon for the long winter night. The women then sewed from early morning until late at night, with only brief respites to cook the meals or to pass the time of day with neighbours. A woman who had no children to sew for was, of course, less busy; the mother of a family was obliged not only to make the clothes for the whole household, but to train her girls to be dressmakers also. The latter began their training with odd scraps of skin, which they learned to join with neat close stitches. Later, they mended rents in their own clothing, and made dolls fully clothed from head to foot. Many men could make their own trousers and socks, and even sealskin shoes in an emergency; but only a very few could cut out a well-fitting coat or make a pair of waterboots that would really keep out the water. Even the women never attained great skill in these last-mentioned tasks until long after marriage, and a young wife often sought the assistance of an older relative or friend. [221] 294 462 828

The work-basket of most women was a bag of caribou or some other skin, or else, more rarely, a neatly worked basket of coiled willow twigs held in place with willow-bark stitching (Figures 91, 92). All the baskets that I saw were 485 [489]

[1] In 1941 the price of one slab of caribou back sinew at Barrow, Alaska, was $1.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 90]

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matter. He pretended to be sound asleep when she stole in, and the camp relapsed into silence, except that now and then a low sob issued from the tent of The Chatterbox, who had disciplined his wife by tearing her coat from top to bottom. Icehouse was unusually quiet in the morning, and our visitors departed abruptly for the hills. So once more our tent stood solitary.

In order to protect ourselves more effectively from the weather we moved into the sealskin cooking-tent, built a low rampart of turf around its base, and covered the roof with caribou hides. The small lamp that Icehouse had discovered on a grave kept our new quarters comparatively snug, and its pale, warm glow streaming through the half-open door guided us home in the darkness from our weary hunts. The weather was stormier now, the nights much longer; in a few more weeks the sun would set for its midwinter sleep. This shortness of the daylight restricted our excursions, so that we added no more than two caribou to the total we had laid aside in our caches. Sometimes we did not go hunting at all, but kept watch in turn from the look-out post and scraped caribou hides inside the tent. Icehouse made herself a pair of trousers from a skin that I scraped, and, rising at 2 A.M. a morning or two afterward, made a similar garment for me by the light of her blubber-lamp. So the days passed monotonously. At last Ikpuck decided that it

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136 although a sudden storm that shatters the ice-field may still engulf a few animals before they have time to regain the shore.

136 The second wave of the migration passed even more
261 quickly than the first, and we found ourselves on a barren coast, cut off from every source of food except the stores that we had accumulated during the months just past. The seals had vanished with the open water, the true fishing-lakes lay back in the hills, and the salmon-trout that Ikpuck had speared in lakes nearer the coast had either ceased to spawn, or were invisible through the crust of snow. Occasionally we sighted two or three ptarmigan, never enough for a single meal; and at the mouth of the creek, three or four feet under the ice, the children speared a few sculpins, and
221 devoured them on the spot. But we had now reached the "doldrum" stage in our voyage, the resting period that intervenes between the intense activity of the caribou hunt and lake-fishing, and the winter sealing on the
221 ice. So with a feeling almost of permanency we estab-
361 lished our tiny settlement on the sea-shore, knowing that we should remain there longer than at any place
342 since the preceding winter. We built our snow-huts with more than usual care, and the women improved them by fixing over the doorways windows of fresh-
221 water ice chipped from a neighbouring lagoon. From
• 294 morning till night they sat inside beneath their windows, sewing the new garments we needed for the

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winter months; as soon as they left this place for the sealing-grounds they might sew no more until the sun returned at the end of January. The men brought in the pokes of blubber cached on Read Island six months before, and the carcasses of the caribou shot during the migration just ended; in idle moments they repaired their sealing weapons or helped their wives to scrape the caribou hides.

The monotony of this new life affected the children much more than the adults. Throughout the summer they had shared our hunting and fishing, packed their burdens like the rest of us, and played an active rôle in every enterprise. They had gained a status in those months far beyond their years. Now they were reduced to children again, helpless dependents whose principal duty was to carry messages from one hut to another. Their bows and arrows, which had secured us many a duck and ptarmigan, were useless now that the birds had flown, and their fishing-lines lay idle in the family dunnage-bags, buried away until another spring. Little wonder, then, that they chafed under the confinement and tedium of a sedentary life, where no new playmates, no dances, no visitors from other tribes, breathed fresh life into our humdrum circle. A strange irritability seemed to taint their merry, carefree natures, and they wept over trifles that a month before would have passed unheeded.

Icehouse told Jennie one morning to brush the snow